1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

Following birth the baby is not fed for one day and is then put to the mother's breast. 846
The parturient usually remains in bed for four days to a week, and during this period her husband or grown daughters take over the household duties. In summer a mother may be seen carrying her infant through town within two weeks after delivery and by this time she has also resumed most of her customary duties (Plate 4, c).

Children born out of wedlock or conceived in adulterous sexual relations are regarded 848
as illegitimate. All illegitimacy is deplored, but the incidence of premarital motherhood appears to be quite low. The child of an unmarried mother may be cared for by the girl herself or entrusted to the care of grandparents. Once illegitimate children are grown, their status is not different from that of other persons and no evidence of discrimination against them could be observed.

The only two cases observed of extreme rejection of infants involved illegitimate chil- 848
dren. Irene Wiley gave birth to Irma a short time after she had been deserted by her hus- 854
band, who disapproved of her promiscuity. She did not want the infant, neglected its feeding and care, and often abandoned it in her mosquito tent for long periods while she went riding with soldiers. One cold night in August, 1944, Irene's father's brother's wife found the eight months old baby uncovered and so cold that it had to be washed with warm water. Although news of this incident reached the police, who publicly reprimanded the [626]
mother at a dance, Irene did not improve her care of the infant. Commenting on the child Louis Maza once observed: "That baby raise himself. Nobody take care of him. Mother don't care. Never change him . . . Some people tough. Me, I can't do that." River Joe, Irene's paternal uncle, said: "My heart sick I hear that baby cry. Sometime I take care of him." The extent of his care, so far as could be observed, consisted of occasionally feeding Irma sugar cookies. In 1945, when Irma was about two years old and retarded in her development, Irene began to manifest somewhat more attention toward the child.

A second instance of a young mother neglecting her newborn illegitimate infant oc- 848
curred after the *métise* woman's husband had refused to permit her to keep the child. 851
Although the putative father, a married man, was easily identifiable, no effort was made to 854
induce this man to accept responsibility. Instead both parents left the baby in a tent at Lower Post while they went to visit friends two hundred miles up Dease River. The child was subsequently cared for by the mother's sister and later somewhat reluctantly adopted [547]
by its maternal grandmother. For her behavior the mother is reported to have been censured [626]
by the Indian Agent during his visit to Lower Post.

Children are usually named soon after birth, a Christian saint's name being decided 553
upon by the parents or suggested by the missionary if the baby is brought for baptism. Sometimes naming is neglected for several months after birth. If, during this time, a friend suggests an appropriate name it will be adopted by one or the other parent. Thus the ethnographer named Nitla's baby during the summer of 1945. In addition to a formal personal name, a family occasionally coins a nick-name for a child, but the range of such names is limited. Two common English nicknames are Boss and Piggy.

Children born in Lower Post are usually brought to the mission a few weeks after birth 851
for baptism. The ceremony is little emphasized by the parents and is often delayed until the matter is pressed upon their attention by the priest.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

583 [177] (Peter Tom) were dashed when, after a period of living with his sweetheart, the girl's father (River Joe) forbade the legalization of the union by the missionary.

The English word "married" is generally reserved by Kaska speakers to designate unions which have been sanctioned by the Roman Catholic missionary. Approximately four out of five families with children have been instituted with religious sanction and the ideal attitudes of the people are strongly in favor of such "church marriages." "Married more better," River Joe explained. "No married, people split all the time that way." Generally by the time religious recognition of a marriage is sought, the couple have already "stayed together" in the girl's family for a year or more. Such staying together, once it has continued for a time, can be said to constitute "Injun married" or "blanket marriage."

From the foregoing it will be clear that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the period of bride service and the inception of a marriage relationship. Often the two gradually merge one into the other and it is mainly by the boy's behavior toward the girl that a state of marriage can be diagnosed. If the boy appears in public with his finacée, buys grub for her, and if they share their own dwelling, then marriage has occurred. Even these diagnostics may lack clear significance, however, in the case of an unattached older adolescent girl who seeks support for the winter by living with a youth (who purchases a joint winter outfit) but in the summer returns to independent living.

591 [553] Following marriage, the woman gradually becomes known by the man's surname. The husband builds a cabin or tent frame near his wife's parents' dwelling. The form of marriage is always monogamous and has been so during the past forty years.

595 One rather exceptional instance of what might be considered as true polyandry was noted. For five years Dorothy Plover had been married to a white man who acknowledged some slight degree of Cree ancestry. He was much older than Dorothy and by him she had borne one child. In Lower Post, while continuing to live with this husband, Dorothy simultaneously began to live with another and also much older white man (her first husband's employer), who allegedly fathered her second child. After some months, Dorothy's first husband, although he continued to refer to the woman as his wife, moved a short distance from the town and Dorothy began openly to live with the putative father of her second baby. This behavior was commented upon rather unfavorably by several Indians, who referred to Dorothy's revival of an "old fashioned way." Dorothy's father, a Tahltan Indian, raised no serious objection to the second union when he visited Lower Post.

586 [177] Non-support, cruelty, and infidelity are the reasons commonly given for divorce in Kaska society. Divorce is simply accomplished by separation, although when a church wedding has occurred this form of divorce is of course not sufficient to bring about legal dissolution of a marriage. Several years ago the remarriage of an improperly divorced man led to his arrest and imprisonment and the incident is still recalled as an illustration of the binding nature of church marriage.[22] Within the society little notice is taken of separation unless it occurs between a couple who have been married for some time and have children. In divorce, children remain with the mother unless they are old enough to prefer the father and able to care for themselves. Statistics on divorce were difficult to obtain. The incidence is undoubtedly high in marriages which do not have a legally binding character but here,

[22] See Old Man's autobiographical sketch below, p. 323.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

as fully as possible during the period immediately following birth. Lounging during the first ten days or so after delivery might canalize a man toward that kind of life.[2] 846

Wiped clean with moss the newborn baby was wrapped in a plaited rabbit skin robe. After 24 hours it first received the breast. Two considerations explained the delay in feeding. Immediate nursing of a newborn baby could be fatal because its stomach was still weak. Even when the child suckled for the first time, people took care that it received only enough milk "to wet his mouth." In the second place, the colostrum did not constitute suitable food in the minds of the Indians. Hence the substance was expressed on the ground by massage, a process in which the lactating woman was aided by a companion. In contrast to the colostrum breast milk must never be allowed to touch the ground, lest no milk would flow for a subsequent baby. When it became necessary to clear swollen breasts people collected the expressed milk in a gut container, which they cached in a tree. To "teach" a young infant to nurse, the mother brushed the nipple against its lips until the sucking started, whereupon she might offer further help by lightly squeezing her breast. The Kaska believed that mother's milk originated from ingested food and liquids. Meat stock and grease could increase the supply and nursing women had fat meat and grease urged upon them. If after three days of trying a woman lacked sufficient milk to content her child, she might solicit another woman to act as wet nurse. However, a nurse's milk was less beneficent than the mother's so that a baby fed through this means did not grow rapidly. Animal brain mixed with water was sometimes used as a substitute for milk, for example, in event of a mother's illness. Unless prevented by the mother's illness or pregnancy a child nursed for about three years. Weaning at that age was advisable because it would prevent the child from drawing blood from its mother's breast. An older sibling never shared the breast with a subsequent baby. Displacement of this kind not infrequently stirred up aggression toward a younger sibling, behavior that earned reproach but never corporal punishment. To assist weaning a mother sometimes forced the child's lip into its mouth with the nipple, repeating the act until all inclination to nurse disappeared. Beginning at about the age of two a child received fat to suck. After that feeding regularly included a little ground (pre-chewed?) meat. 862

A baby spent all of its time with the mother. Should the latter die, any woman might be asked to look after the child until it was grown. Then the child returned to its father who paid the foster mother for her care. It is likely that a woman's sisters provided foster motherhood and wet nursing when such needs arose and from these women a widower also secured a new spouse. Naming occurred when the child began to speak (earlier according to another informant). Either the father or mother assigned a suitable name and one that rarely reflected any special proclivity or trait of 854 553

[2] It is likely that a man's activity at this time served functions analogous to those realized by the couvade, namely, that the father "counter-balanced in this way his loss of participation in the birth." (Shimkin, *Childhood and Development among the Wind River Shoshone* [1947], 21.) The Chilkat Tlingit also secluded the parturient in a special birth hut. For four days the mother ate and drank little but remained in bed for twelve days. Hunting and work were avoided by her husband. Drucker, *Cultural Element Distribution: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 205–207.

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553 the youngster. Instead the choice of a name depended on the whim of the parents. This name was retained until adolescence. Teknonymy was not admitted.[3]

854 For a year and a half or two years the moss bag served for carrying the baby. In
855 this container he could also be hung from the lower branches of a tree and rocked.
[863] Following discontinuance of the baby pack children up to four continued to wear a knee-length dress or coat, a moose-hide diaper lined with moss. Trousers for a boy followed the achievement of cleanliness training. Before verbal instruction in the use of the bush came to be given, toileting habits were inculcated with the aid of a moss-lined bark vessel. In summer a child who had been released from the moss bag slept in a cradle swing. In winter for greater protection against cold he passed the night alongside his mother. Babies received encouragement to crawl but were not allowed to stand erect too early for fear of injuring the limbs. Nobody discouraged finger sucking and the "black dirt" collecting on the surface of the baby's palm was regarded as "baby food." A mother removed a loose milk tooth by pinching it between index finger and thumb. With the tooth she then described a circle on the crown of the child's head, repeating the formula, "Rabbit tooth, rabbit tooth." The rite promoted the rapid duplication of the lost organ. The extracted tooth ended up cached in the split of a dead tree. If it were discarded on the ground future teeth would grow in at wrong
857 places. Young children amused themselves with bull-roarers, the blades of which were often decorated with charcoal or animal blood designs; buzz toys, twirled on rawhide lines, and simple swings. Dolls did not constitute playthings.

861 Kaska parents did not neglect disciplining in the event of a child failing to take
863 over socially approved habits. Discipline ideally attached to the like-sexed parent,
867 although manifestly the mother exerted more authority because she was in constant interaction with the young child. If toilet training did not occur in a reasonable time, a child's hands might be lightly whipped with a willow switch. Disgust for the body wastes was also inculcated. Children of the same sex could urinate and defecate together in the bush but children of opposite sex were early prohibited this degree of intimacy. Lying brought about whipping, while truthfulness won praise for its magical association with future hunting ability. A girl who stole might be hung by the feet and whipped on her legs. Only women witnessed this punishment. A father beat his son for theft. A child of either sex who stole might have an awl point pressed against the fingers or ears. A too aggressive boy received whippings with a length of braided
865 babiche. People felt that a boy who showed early aggressive tendencies would become
864 cowardly when he matured. Children were dissuaded from sex play by parents pointing out how it threatened a boy's hunting prowess and could cause a girl's death. Sexual curiosity met the warning, "Your eyes are going to be blind." A masturbator's hands were whipped with a willow switch.

868 Sex typing received serious attention in late childhood. A youth of 12 began to ac-
882 company his father hunting and so learned to track, ambush, and butcher game and became familiar with the habits of animals. A girl continued to spend much time with her mother, who encouraged feminine pursuits. Girls were dissuaded from playing with

[3] Teknonymy has been reported for the Tlingit. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 37.

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weapons like a bow. Persistence in such behavior, she learned, might affect a brother's heart. Upon approaching puberty a boy began to seek a power dream with the active encouragement of his father. From now on he began to sleep in his own camp or perhaps in the company of older unmarried brothers. The custom probably reinforced the brother-sister avoidance and is also said to have safeguarded youths in the event of a surprise enemy raid.

Dease River Kaska. To eat fowl, rabbit, and porcupine or other soft foods in pregnancy promised to facilitate delivery. Parturition took place in a birth camp, that consisted of a circular wall of willows surrounding a fireplace. Here older women brought food from the main camp and assisted in the process of delivery. An ordinary knife served for cutting the umbilicus. Later the stump of the cord was dried, wrapped in a piece of tanned skin and sewn to the baby's hat, where it remained until the child began to walk. An infant would cry for a long time if this amulet became lost. Eventually the cord would be cached in a tree, where the skin-wrapped afterbirth had already been deposited (although it was probably not necessary that the same tree be employed). Following delivery the woman remained isolated and avoided sex relations for about three months.

Twins represented good fortune and neither of such a pair was killed. The Indians preferred boy babies to girls because the former would become hunters. Apparently female infanticide was sometimes condoned.[4]

Breast feeding lasted until about the age of three. On journeys, when a child began to cry the whole group of women might halt while it nursed. In winter during outdoor feeding fire had to be made for the nursing woman's comfort. No principles of naming were specified and teknonymy was denied.

Either parent exercised discipline. Children beyond the age of five who misbehaved or refused to heed parents' warnings were struck with the hands alone. Crawling in a young child met no discouragement. Toys included the buzz toy, bull-roarer, rawhide rattle, hoop to be pushed by a pole, and hollow moose hooves hung on a pole, which a child delighted in shaking. Dolls were not played with but string figures, a pastime said to have been derived from the Taku Indians, furnished children with a pleasant occupation.

ADOLESCENCE

Upper Liard Kaska. Coinciding with the vision quest, which in a sense marked the completion of childhood, a boy received training in hardihood and endurance.[5] In autumn he stripped and plunged into icy water. When winter came, groups of naked boys rolled in soft snow, after which some older men whipped the youths with willows. A boy never cried out in pain during such a trial but he could protect his chest with crossed arms and might escape when he reached the limit of endurance. A mild com-

[4] Among the Tlingit, infant girls were sometimes strangled. Twins being regarded as an "evil omen" were also put to death. Jones, *Study of the Tlingits of Alaska* (1914), 121.

[5] Perhaps the exercises began earlier and finished at puberty, as among the Navaho. Leighton and Kluckhohn, *Children of the People* (1947), 56-57.

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883 petitive element entered these exercises, as a boy who withstood whipping or remained in cold water longer than the others gained the reputation of toughness. It was predicted that he would be able to withstand considerable exposure to cold in later life.[6] It is reported that boys around the time of puberty showed fear of the bush. Overcoming their timidity no doubt constituted further training in hardihood.

553 551 With adolescence a child customarily received a new name, but the circumstances attending name changing could not be ascertained clearly. According to one informant (X), a girl retained her childhood name throughout life and the boy took over his father's at a memorial potlatch dedicated to that parent. Such a pattern hardly corresponds to a name change systematically associated with puberty. Only in anger did one ever call a grown person by his name. Normally people employed relationship terms even though no blood connection could be traced. Older men commonly received the designation "grandfather" while an age-mate responded to "brother-in-law." A child took special care not to utter his mother's name.

883 841 For the girl adolescence meant the beginning of reproductive life and ushered in menstrual avoidances that would continue until menopause except, of course, during periods of pregnancy. Although any connection between the menstrual flow and hymeneal bleeding was denied, people asserted that the initiation of sexual relations brought on menarche some five months later. As Ford points out, in conjunction with considerable premarital intercourse such a belief "would only rarely be challenged by contradictory facts."[7] Girls knew from warnings they had received that sexual experience led to bleeding, and not uncommonly a girl noticing the onset of menstruation seized her blanket and shamefully ran off. The mother followed, seeking her daughter where the latter hid under a tree. The girl was asked the name of the boy who had "started" her. The theory that accidents which caused internal injuries also brought on menstrual bleeding probably served as a rationalization for the appearance of the menses in girls whose chastity had been more than casually guarded. Nobody asso-

[6] Among the Tlingit, "in the winter time, in the extreme cold weather, men and boys would go down to the beach and, naked, jump into ice-cold water" or roll in the snow. "They would then switch their nude bodies, or have someone do it for them, until the blood would all but break through the skin. . . . Youngsters were treated in this way to teach them endurance and make them brave." (Jones, *Study of the Thlingets of Alaska* [1914], 120.) To the north of the upper Liard area in the country of the Pelly River, "after the winter set in it was the custom in the morning before they made a fire to cut a hole in the ice where the water would come about to the shoulders. All the men and youths that held any claim to being strong and being able to withstand hardship jumped in the water, each being armed with small bundles of willows. When they had stayed in the water as long as able, they climbed on the ice and beat each other with willows. The man who could stay in the water the longest and also the hardest whipping with the willows and ask for more was proclaimed the strongest man in the tribe." (Field, *Unpublished manuscript* [1913], 6-7.) Among the Tanaina, along with their value on early rising it was the maternal uncle who threw the boys into cold weather if they did not rise promptly. Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina*, (1937), 135, 143. Compare with Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 190; Honigmann, *Changes in Sarsi Social Culture* (manuscript).

[7] Similar beliefs in a relationship between coitus and menstruation occur among the Lepcha, Andamanese, and Murngin. (Ford, *A Comparative Study of Human Reproduction* [1945], 9.) In the Northern Athapaskan Area the middle Yukon River "Tena," too, held that menstruation was brought on by sexual intercourse. Jetté, *On the Superstitions of the Ten'a Indians* (1911), 700.